RELIGION AND PLANNING IN THE FAR WEST: THE FIRST GENERATION OF MORMONS IN UTAH

By P. A. M. TAYLOR and L. J. ARRINGTON

> ... these barren valleys, these sterile mountains, this desolate waste, where only Saints can or would live.
>
> BRIGHAM YOUNG [1]

EVEN today, much of Utah has a forbidding aspect, and when, in the summer of 1847, the Mormons first entered it, they were faced with a wilderness which only to the eye of faith yielded a prospect of successful colonization. Yet within thirty years the Mormons had established more than 300 settlements, based on irrigated agriculture, and had elaborated all the institutions of a stable community of some 100,000 inhabitants. The present discussion is concerned with the following interrelated questions. How was colonization economically possible in the face of the obstacles of sterility and isolation? How could such a struggling community organize and support what was the largest planned immigration to cross the North Atlantic in the nineteenth century? But the purpose of that settlement and that immigration was in large measure religious, and the planning agency was not a secular government but a church. What, then, were the effects of this religious preoccupation? Did religion make the building of Utah more difficult, by imposing additional tasks and by prohibiting certain technically possible methods? Or did religion, rather, supply such reserves of loyalty and discipline, and such well-conceived and widely accepted institutions, as to make planning, on balance, easier?

I

Four times in the first twenty years Utah came near to famine. During each of these crises, in 1848–9, 1855–6, 1863–4, and 1867, the Public Works had to be abandoned to release all men for agricultural work, and heads of families and the Church administered food rationing.[2] But the ceaseless toil of pioneer work, and the occasional food shortages, were not Utah's only problem. The Territory lay 1,000 miles west of the main American frontier at mid-century. Early sessions of the Legislature appealed to Congress for aid in developing communications with the Mississippi valley and the Pacific coast, but little was done during the first decade.[3] Utah was a primitive agricultural community, depending on imports for all manufactures beyond the crude articles that could be made in pioneer homes. Yet such imports, brought by ox-waggon over great distances, and during a limited season, typically cost five or six times as much at Salt Lake City as at St. Louis.[4] Exports to the older

[1] Brigham Young, *Journal of Discourses* (Liverpool, 1854–86), IV, 344, sermon of 7 June 1857.

[2] These famines, and the measures to counteract them, are described in countless diaries and reminiscences; in the pages of *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City, weekly 1850–67); and in L. J. Arrington, *The Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Mormon People, 1847–1900* (forthcoming from Harvard University Press).

[3] *Utah Acts, Resolutions and Memorials* (Salt Lake City, 1852–6), pp. 402, 407–8, 411–14.

[4] Sir Richard Burton, *The City of the Saints* (1861), pp. 388–9; *Latter Day Saint's Millennial Star* (Manchester 1840, Liverpool 1841–, subsequently referred to as *Millennial Star*), XIV (29 May 1852), 211–12. Yet even at such prices, the stores were 'besieged' when a new stock of goods arrived—*ibid.* XV (17 October 1853), 681.

regions of the United States were impossible for the same reason, even when a surplus of farm produce existed. As will be seen later, the Mormons had to devote much of their effort to reducing imports and to developing invisible exports.

Economic problems, then, were severe. But the purpose of the settlement was not primarily economic. Seventeen years of wandering and persecution, and the murder in 1844 of Joseph Smith, the original Prophet, had convinced the Mormons that their future lay in such a degree of self-government as could be obtained only west of the Rockies. Careful study had made them certain that life was possible there, and the Pioneer Company of 1847 had known their destination to within a few miles.[1] Given this assurance, it mattered little that wealth and comfort were unlikely to be acquired rapidly. What was aimed at was the building up of a perfect society, a society fit to be the headquarters of the Millennium; and the work was to be directed by a Church which claimed to be restoring, by divine revelation, the apostolic purity of religion. The Eleventh General Epistle summed up:

> ... In these secluded vales we gather the Saints that we may enjoy the rights and privileges of the Constitution, denied to us elsewhere; that we may have the privilege of worshipping God according to the dictates of our own consciences; ... that we obey the ordinances and keep the commandments of God, and consecrate our ability in rolling forth the great work of God upon the earth, establishing His kingdom, building temples, and preparing the way for the coming of the Son of Man. ...[2]

Involved in this aim was the 'gathering' of converts from the foreign mission fields. In other words, the Mormons were committed by their faith to a programme of planned immigration as well as of development of settlements in Utah. The Mormon theory was that quite soon God's wrath would be poured out upon the unregenerate world, 'Babylon', and that the Saints, 'Israel', to escape disaster and to build up the Kingdom, must go to 'Zion', which from 1847 meant Utah. Joseph Smith's own early words were:

> Wherefore the decree hath gone forth from the Father, that they shall be gathered into one place upon the face of the land, to purify their hearts, and to be prepared in all things against the day when tribulation and desolation are sent to fall upon the wicked; for the hour is nigh, and the day soon at hand, when the earth is ripe; and all the proud, and they that do wickedly, shall be as stubble, and I will burn them up, saith the Lord of Hosts.[3]

To the building of 'Zion' the Mormons brought an equipment of ideas and institutions that deserves analysis.

In the early years of the Church, Joseph Smith tried to introduce a communitarian form of society. In 1831 he announced as a revelation from God a plan whereby all members were to deed their property to the Church, receiving back, as a 'stewardship', or 'inheritance', what was needed for the

[1] 'Private Journal of Orson Pratt', *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine*, XVI (1925), esp. 166–7; *A Friend of the Mormons: Private Papers and Diary of T. L. Kane*, ed. O. O. Winther (San Francisco, 1937), pp. 26–7, 32–3, 41, 51–3; O. F. Whitney, *History of Utah* (4 vols. Salt Lake City, 1892), I, 239 note; F. A. Golder, *The March of the Mormon Battalion* (New York, 1928), esp. pp. 35–6 note, 129.

[2] *Millennial Star*, XVI (8 July 1854), 422.

[3] *Book of Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of the Latter-day Saints* (Kirtland, Ohio, 1835; 1st. European ed. Liverpool, 1845; subsequently referred to as *Doctrine and Covenants*), section x. For emigration propaganda based on this, see P. A. M. Taylor, 'Why Did British Mormons Emigrate?', *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XXII (1954), esp. 256–7.

upkeep of their families. Dissolved after three years, because of difficulties with non-Mormon neighbours, the Law of Consecration and Stewardship was revived in 1838, but failed for a similar reason.[1] What took its place was the system of Tithing, by which converts handed over one-tenth of their property on joining the Church, and thereafter donated one-tenth of their yearly income. Much later, Brigham Young expounded the principle in a sermon:

> We are not our own, but are bought with a price, we are the Lord's; our time, our talents, our gold and silver, our wheat and flour ... and all ... that we have in our possession is the Lord's, and He requires one-tenth of this for the building up of His Kingdom.[2]

Two consequences followed. First, the Church was able to control directly the surplus resources of Utah, and employ them for a variety of public purposes. Second, converts to the Mormon faith accepted a very remarkable degree of planning as entirely compatible with, indeed an essential part of, the system to which they adhered.

To the convert, all that was done to build up Utah was a religious as well as a secular task, was a part of God's work. To use the standard Mormon terminology, every part of that work was a 'mission'. In his sermons, Brigham Young makes this point again and again:

> If a man is called to go and labour for the poor, if his Bishop calls upon him to go into the canyon after a load of wood for the poor, and he goes there, with his heart uplifted to God, and with his eye single to the building up of the Kingdom, and gets the load of wood, and lays it at the door of the Bishop for the poor ... he is just as much in the line of his duty as though he were on his knees praying.

And again:

> There is neither man nor woman in this Church who is not on a mission.[3]

All Young's utterances, and much of Mormon conversation to this day, reflect this intermingling of what, in most societies, are regarded as 'secular' and 'spiritual' elements.

Similarly, the institutions of the Church have always been recognized as possessing an authority both 'spiritual' and 'secular'. Every male member of the Church has a rank in the priesthood. But from the beginning authority has been concentrated in the hands of three groups of leaders: the First Presidency (the President and his two Counsellors), the Twelve Apostles, and the Bishops who presided over the Wards into which the Church in Utah was divided.[4] The Twelve could act as alternative leaders if the First Presidency suffered disaster or proved unworthy. But in fact the thirty-year ascendancy of Brigham

[1] J. A. Geddes, *The United Order Among the Mormons (Missouri Phase): An Unfinished Experiment in Economic Organization* (Salt Lake City, 1924); L. J. Arrington, 'Early Mormon Communitarianism: The Law of Consecration and Stewardship', *Western Humanities Review*, VII (1953), 341–69. The documents are in 'Extract from the Law for the Government of the Church of Christ', *The Evening and the Morning Star* (Independence, Mo. 1832), I, 1; *A Book of Commandments for the Government of the Church of Christ* (Independence, Mo. 1833), chapter xliv; *Doctrine and Covenants*, sections xiii, xxiii, lxxxvii, xcix, cvii.

[2] *Journal of Discourses*, XIV, 88, a sermon of 9 April 1871.

[3] *Ibid.* XI, 293; XII, 19.

[4] The historical development of the hierarchy is described in F. M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet* (New York, 1945), esp. pp. 87, 101–2, 111, 161. The completed system is discussed in G. H. Durham, 'Administrative Organization of the Mormon Church', *Political Science Quarterly*, LVII (1942), 51–71.

Young made them advisers and agents. Unified in this way, the hierarchy displayed immense ability. It is also fair to say that it usually commanded the support of the rank-and-file.

The relationship is not easy to analyse in terms comprehensible in a secular society. In part, the members' attitude to their leaders was no more than a tribute to their quality, demonstrated by practical results. In part, it was a result of the fact that each man was a voluntary member of the Church, a convert. In part, it stemmed from the possession of a status which gave, or seemed to give, some share in the decisions, though it is easy for the outside observer to see that the initiative always came from above.[1] In part, too, it was derived from a sense of participating in a heroic venture which was also divinely sanctioned. This sense was consciously and continuously stimulated, by the written and the spoken word. Mormon publications printed not only day-to-day exhortations, and reports of current business, but many articles on the early history of the Church, and many recollections by the leaders of their early struggles. No Mormon celebration was complete without reference to the Prophet, to persecution, to the glorious work of crossing ocean, plains and mountains to establish Zion. In 1908, at Enterprise, Utah, such a celebration included a speech by the only man present who remembered Joseph Smith:

> As a boy I saw and talked with the Prophet. Once he put his hand on my head and blessed me. I have seen him wrestle with the young men on the green. He was quick as a squirrel and strong as a mountain lion, but he was as gentle as a lamb. ....

Characteristically, the discourse ended with the words:

> We had fifty years of persecution, but now we are safe. The Church of God is planted on the mountain tops where all the world can see.

And all who heard cried: 'Amen'.[2]

It may now be easier to understand the meticulous planning of Mormon life in Utah, of the founding of new settlements, and of the conduct of immigration. This is not the place to describe these matters in detail.[3] But three examples will make the point clearly enough. In 1866–7, the Deseret Telegraph (i.e. the telegraph within Utah to supplement the transcontinental line completed in 1861) was constructed. Two men were excommunicated for resisting a levy for the work. The Bishop at Moroni argued 'for the rights of the Priesthood to dictate to the people all kinds of duties to perform. The Lord spoke to Brigham, Brigham to the Bishops, and the Bishops to the people. It had been so with regard to putting up telegraph poles'.[4] In 1861, a company of settlers was formed, mainly by command (or 'counsel', in Mormon termino-

[1] Thus, at each General Conference of the Church in Utah, at Conferences of overseas Missions, and even sometimes at meetings of emigrant companies on board ship, there took place a ceremonial 'sustaining' of the whole hierarchy, rank by rank. But we have found no more than two or three examples of refusal to sustain any officer, except on the motion of a superior.

[2] Quoted in N. Anderson, *Desert Saints: The Mormon Frontier in Utah* (Chicago, 1942), pp. 5–6.

[3] For convenient summaries, see M. R. Hunter, *Brigham Young the Colonizer* (Salt Lake City, 1940); two articles by P. A. M. Taylor, 'Mormons and Gentiles on the Atlantic', *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XXIV (1956), 195–214, and 'The Mormon Crossing of the United States', *ibid.* XXV (1957), 319–37; W. Mulder, *Homeward to Zion: The Mormon Migration from Scandinavia* (Minneapolis, 1957), and the summary in 'Mormons from Scandinavia: A Shepherded Migration', *Pacific Historical Review*, XXIII (1954), 227–46.

[4] Moroni Historical Record (unpublished, Church Historian's Library, Salt Lake City), 15 November and 22 December 1867.

logy) to go to southern Utah to raise semi-tropical crops. The group included not only farmers but dam-builders, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, millwrights, masons, carpenters, surveyors, teachers, a tanner, a printer, and even an ex-sailor, whose task was to be that of supervising the scaffolding for the larger public buildings.[1] In 1862 a further company was 'called' to a 'mission' in southern Utah. Oliver B. Huntington, of Springville in Utah County, did not attend the General Conference at which the decision was taken. But friends, on their return, told him that he had been one of those selected. He received no official confirmation, either then or later, but he records in his diary that he immediately sold his land and presented himself at the appointed rendezvous.[2]

II

The high price of imports, occasioned by freight charges, and the impossibility of long-distance exports, involved Utah in a chronic shortage of cash. It was this shortage that explains many of the expedients to which the Mormons were driven in their economic policy. Only a variety of experiments, aided by certain natural advantages, enabled solvency to be achieved.

It was as an early step towards solving this problem that the Mormons exhorted immigrants to provide what were in effect free imports, by bringing with them on their journey many articles in excess of their personal needs. In 1848, a General Epistle written at Winter Quarters, Nebraska, whither Brigham Young had temporarily returned after founding Salt Lake City, requested immigrants from the British Mission to bring with them seeds, livestock, tools, textile machinery or models, farm implements, paper, mathematical instruments, technical books, and maps. Later Epistles added to the list glass, nails, paint, cotton yarn, dyestuffs, leather harness, cutlery, and locks.[3] No one can say how much the converts brought, though certainly the scale of their baggage proved an embarrassment to those responsible for their transport. But in the context of Utah's early poverty, an historian was perhaps justified in writing of immigrants' goods: 'They were as merchant trains of matchless worth . . .'[4]

Inevitably, these family contributions were goods of relatively small bulk. For anything larger, the Church had to plan, and as early as 1850 the first moves were made in what was to become a programme of industrialization, written about interminably in contemporary Mormon publications as 'Home Manufactures'. The Church always had a large Public Works programme, employing several hundred carpenters, blacksmiths, painters, and teamsters. But three industries were encouraged through separate organizations: sugar, woollens, and iron. The effort made was great. Costly sugar-refining machinery was taken out from England in 1852, to work on the beet crop that was planned.[5] In 1853, woollen machinery was also taken from England, and in

[1] L. J. Arrington, 'The Mormon Cotton Mission in Southern Utah', *Pacific Historical Review*, XXV (1956), 227–8.

[2] Oliver B. Huntington Journal (W.P.A. Transcripts, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City), II, 120.

[3] *Millennial Star*, X (15 March 1848), 85; XI (1 August 1849), 230; XV (18 June 1853), 395; XVII (11 August 1855), 499.

[4] E. W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City* (Salt Lake City, 1886), pp. 667–8. Doubtless Mormon immigrants also brought cash, but we can do no more than guess that the amount was small.

[5] *Millennial Star*, XIII (1 August 1851), 234; XIV (1 April 1852), 105.

later years more was purchased in the eastern United States.[1] Iron began to be worked in southern Utah in 1852, and in the following year the Deseret Iron Company was incorporated.[2] To man these industries, skilled workers among the British converts were encouraged to migrate, not merely by exhortation but, as will be seen later, by financial aid. John Taylor in 1850 expressed what was hoped for:

> We will set the Welsh boys to get the ore in the mountains, and then set the Sheffield boys to work in fixing it up into tools.[3]

When the Lord's work was to be done, all resources were to be concentrated in Utah. Addressing a Special General Council in London in April 1852, Erastus Snow put it:

> ... Well, we feel that Zion is our home, and that we are only pilgrims here, and we want to lay a foundation for our families and children in the place which God has appointed for the refuge of His people. Every particle of our means that we use in Babylon, is a loss to ourselves; and it is so much means expended upon Babylon that shall perish.[4]

Yet, for all the effort expended, all the machinery and all the skilled labour assembled, the programme failed. In 1861, the hydraulic presses, destined for sugar, were being used to make linseed oil. The Census of 1870 recorded only 15 woollen mills, employing 106 people. The Census did not mention iron, and certainly as late as 1859 citizens were being urged to collect scrap, and heavily-ironed waggons were being bought from the United States Army for the needed metal.[5] Detailed mismanagement may have played some part in the failure. More important was the difficulty of concentrating at key points the supply of skilled labour. There was no shortage of skilled men in the immigration. But each new settlement was assigned its quota of craftsmen, which scattered the specialists. Moreover, the new arrivals seem to have desired to settle on land, and exhortations, and threats of direction of labour by the Bishops, were for once ineffective. It was not of course the immigrants' choice alone. Utah's needs demanded that most people, whatever their original occupation, should go to work at once on the difficult task of raising crops.[6]

[1] *Ibid.* XV (23 April 1853), 265; Tullidge, *op.cit.* pp. 382, 666–8, and biographical section pp. 69–71. In the Utah State Historical Society are letters from Brigham Young to Horace S. Eldredge, who acted as purchasing agent in the eastern United States; the letter dated 20 October 1858 ends: 'Remember always that you are not to run us into *debt*'.

[2] *Utah Acts, Resolutions and Memorials*, pp. 235–7, 399–400.

[3] *Millennial Star*, XII (1 December 1850), 359.

[4] *Ibid.* XIV (29 May 1852), 210.

[5] *Journal of Discourses*, IX, 28; *Ninth Census of the U.S.* III, 574–5, 596–7, 630–2; *Millennial Star*, XXI (7 May 1859), 303–4; the waggons had hauled Army supplies from the East, were acquired at a low price, 'and worked up into ploughs, etc.'

[6] Policy statements are in Salt Lake Stake History (unpublished, Church Historian's Library), 5 November 1848; *Deseret News*, 16 October 1852, 19 March 1853, and many advertisements for skilled workers; *Journal of Discourses*, X, 72–3; *Millennial Star*, XII (1 May 1850), 133. The change of occupation among the British-born can be illustrated by comparing, for certain occupations, figures derived from the *Passenger Lists* of the Mormon ships (National Archives, Washington, D.C.) and the Church Shipping Books (unpublished, Church Historian's Library)with those in the *Ninth Census*, the first in which occupation groups are divided by national origins. The trend proves to be the reverse of that in most European migration to the United States. Even from incomplete figures, it is certain that at least 1,214 British miners sailed as Mormon emigrants; but in 1870 only 158 were found in Utah. For metal workers of all kinds, the figures are 783 and 150; for all mining and industrial occupations combined, they are 3,281 and 1,650, and the latter figure included numerous workers on the recently completed railways. On the other hand, only 341 farmers and 189 farm labourers sailed, to whom may perhaps be added 176 'labourers' from villages; in Utah in 1870 there were 2,433 farmers and 908 farm workers of British birth.

The Mormons rejected any attempt to solve their balance of payments problem by developing gold mining. Not only was no such mining undertaken in Utah in the early years, but with a single exception Church members were discouraged from going to California and other nearby mining areas.[1] Against the possibility of their returning with portable wealth was set the likelihood that, in the atmosphere of a Gentile mining camp, they would lose their faith. At times, Church leaders spoke as if they thought that any great individual wealth would endanger both the individual soul and the social stability of Utah. They never hesitated to condemn gold rushes. During the winter of 1848–9, when the temptation to leave the struggling new settlements for California was very strong, Brigham Young is reported to have spoken thus:

> Those who stop here and are faithful to God and His people will make more money and get richer than you who run after the gold of this world ... God has shown me that this is the spot to locate His people, and here is where they will prosper ... Then, brethren, plough your land, sow wheat, plant your potatoes ... It is your duty to preach the Gospel, gather Israel, pay your tithing and build temples. ...[2]

Thus far, the difficulties raised by Utah's isolation have been stressed. But that same geographical position conferred on the Mormons certain important advantages. Utah lay on or near the principal migration routes to the Pacific coast, and in the centre of a great mining area. The mining camps of the West were equally remote from the eastern United States, and only California had sea communications. As far, therefore, as Utah could produce an agricultural surplus, there was a ready market for short-distance exports. Flour and dried fruits were sent to Colorado after its gold rush of 1859, and to Montana and Idaho in the 1860's. Nevada mining camps paid good prices throughout the 1860's for all the produce of southern Utah that could be spared. Cattle went to California, Nevada, Idaho, Montana, Colorado, and Wyoming during Utah's first twenty years. In 1864 an emigrant saw waggons from Salt Lake City carrying potatoes to Montana for sale at the remarkable price of 28 cents a pound, payable in gold.[3] But the surplus did not always exist. In the sixties, the Church embarked upon a system of agricultural price-control, such were the dangers of food shortage, price fluctuations, and domination of the market by the exporting merchants.[4]

[1] In the autumn of 1849, approximately 50 Mormons were 'called' in two groups to go to California to mine gold for the benefit of the Church. Most of them returned in 1850 without having made a success of their venture. See E. E. Campbell, 'A History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in California, 1846–1946' (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1952), chapters 2 and 3. R. P. Bieber, 'California Gold Mania', *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXV (1948–9), 13–15, gives examples of unauthorised departures for the goldfields in 1849 and 1850.

[2] *Life of a Pioneer, being the Autobiography of James S. Brown* (Salt Lake City, 1900), pp. 121–3. In *Millennial Star*, XII (15 April 1850), 119, is another declaration of the First Presidency: 'The true use for gold is for paving streets, covering houses, and making culinary dishes, and when the Saints shall have preached the Gospel, raised grain and built up cities enough, the Lord will open up the way for a supply of gold to the perfect satisfaction of His people.'

[3] St. George Stake History (unpublished, Church Historian's Library), 29 June 1868; *Millennial Star*, XXVIII (14 April 1866), 238; *Covered Waggon Days ... Private Journal of Albert J. Dickson*, ed. A. J. Dickson (Cleveland, Ohio, 1929), p. 165; M. G. Burlingame, *The Montana Frontier* (Helena, Montana, 1942), p. 338. Further, one very important windfall came to the Mormons: on the outbreak of the Civil War, the U.S. Army's Camp Floyd was abandoned, and military stores estimated to have been worth four million dollars were sold to Mormons for $100,000—Tullidge, *op.cit.* p. 248.

[4] L. J. Arrington, 'Agricultural Price Control in Pioneer Utah', *Agricultural History*, XXX (1956), 104–13.

The Mormons profited also from the needs, and the misfortunes, of Western travellers. Migration to Oregon and California, freight and mail services, the transcontinental telegraph, the first transcontinental railway, all came within the sphere of Mormon influence. Mormons sold food or fresh animals to emigrants, to the Army, to freight trains and stage services, for Utah was the one source of supply on the trail. It was the one source of labour too, and Mormons did freighting and repair work, and helped construct the telegraph and the Union Pacific and Central Pacific railway. All this brought in a substantial revenue; thus, in 1860–1 the Church's profit on a contract to construct the telegraph line was $11,000 in gold.[1] The Mormons controlled ferries across the Green, Bear, and Weber rivers and, for a time, across the upper North Platte. In cash, provisions, or livestock, tolls from travellers made up a further large sum, at such rates as three or four dollars for a waggon, 50 cents for an ox, horse, or mule, and 25 cents for a sheep, pig, or goat.[2] Very often, too, alarmed by the slowness of their journey, these travellers lightened their loads and, if they did not abandon furniture, clothing and equipment on the trail, they sold such articles, as well as waggons and tired livestock, to Mormons at sacrifice prices.[3]

It is doubtful whether all these invisible exports did more than barely cover the cost of essential imports. The shortage of cash in Utah was commented on by Mormons and Gentiles alike. Within the Territory, this occasioned no extreme hardship, because of the manner in which the Church Tithing Offices facilitated barter.[4] On three occasions the Mormons resorted to a local currency, but each time on only a small scale. In 1848–51, gold dust brought by Mormons from California was minted to make gold pieces up to a possible total of $70,000. During the same period, handwritten notes of various denominations also circulated, but all were retired by 1851. About $75,000 in paper currency was issued in 1858, during the 'Utah War', and more coin was minted in 1860. But all the evidence suggests that the coin, at least, was soon drained away in external trade.[5] For most internal transactions during

[1] Tullidge, *op.cit.* p. 674; for services to freight companies in 1863, *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine* (New York), XLIV, 23–6, 30–1, 42–3; for services to the Army, L. H. Creer, *Utah and the Nation* (Seattle, Washington, 1929), pp. 159–60; on the railway, I. Sorenson, Mendon Historical Record, Book A (unpublished, Church Historian's Library), pp. 1–4; for the telegraph, L. J. Arrington, 'The Deseret Telegraph, A Church-owned Public Utility', *Journal of Economic History*, XI (1951), 118.

[2] These are tolls prescribed in grants of ferry-rights to Utah citizens, *Utah Acts, Resolutions and Memorials*, pp. 237–8, and see also pp. 243–7, 267–8, 281–6; D. L. Morgan, *The State of Deseret* (Salt Lake City, 1940, being Volume VIII of *Utah Historical Quarterly*), pp. 106, 195–200, 207–8, 218; William Empey, 1847 Diary (W. P. A. Transcripts, Utah State Historical Society), p. 7.

[3] Salt Lake Stake History, 31 July 1850, mentions waggons and carriages being sold at one-fifth their original cost. For the background, see P. A. M. Taylor, 'Emigrants' Problems in Crossing the West, 1830–70', *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, V (1955), esp. 90–1.

[4] L. J. Arrington, 'The Mormon Tithing House: A Frontier Business Institution', *Business History Review*, XXVIII (1954), 24–58. The local tithing house was not only the place where a Mormon paid in what was due to the Church. He could use it as a general store, handing in a surplus of one commodity and drawing out another. He could pay in goods and receive an order which could be used for the benefit of a relative elsewhere in Utah. He could use such an order for paying local labour. There circulated also scrip of the General Tithing Office at Salt Lake City, which was used, for example, to pay labour on the Deseret Telegraph in 1871.

[5] L. J. Arrington, 'Coin and Currency in Early Utah' and 'Mormon Finance and the Utah War', *Utah Historical Quarterly*, XX (1952), 57–75, 219–37. The gold dust came principally from returning members of the Mormon Battalion, enlisted for service in the Mexican War, and demobilized in California just before gold was discovered there.

the first generation, barter was the rule. The first issue of *Deseret News* carried the notice: 'Wanted, at our office, wheat, cornmeal, butter, cheese, tallow, and pork in exchange for the News', and as late as 1859 the paper was still trying to establish the rule that one-third of its subscriptions must be paid in cash.[1] Wages were paid in kind, and some critics alleged the existence of abuses similar to those of 'truck' in nineteenth-century Britain.[2] Taxes were sometimes paid in the same fashion, for in 1869, in Washington County, the value of molasses for that purpose was fixed at $1·25 a gallon, of corn at $1·50 a bushel, and of wheat at $2·50.[3] Similarly, Tithing involved labour or produce far more often than cash. The produce was stored in Church tithing houses, from which Church employees and the poor might be supplied, while labour was contributed to a variety of projects of public importances. In one representative valley, cash tithing during the period 1863–70 was less than three-tenths of one per cent of total tithing receipts; that is, $11,786 out of a total of $428,732. Even in 1868, when cash was plentiful because of railway construction contracts, cash receipts were only $25,114 out of total tithing of $143,373 paid into the General Tithing Office.[4]

III

Such expedients, however, were of no value for external purposes, in particular, for assistance to immigration from Europe. Yet such immigration was a central aim of the Church, and financial assistance soon proved to be imperative.

The cost of migration to Utah was necessarily high, and while large-scale organization resulted in certain economies, these were offset by rises in price in one sector or another of the route. In 1848–9, the sea journey from Liverpool to New Orleans cost about £3.10·0; then came a journey by river steamboat to the outfitting centre on the Missouri, at a cost of about 30 shillings; a waggon and team of oxen for the overland crossing cost another £40, though this would be shared by several people. To this should be added the cost of utensils on shipboard, of supplementary food at sea, and of all food within the United States. Scarcely had the route to Salt Lake City been established when the California gold rush suddenly increased demand for all the necessities of Western travel. The price of waggon and team rose to £50 by 1855 and, with further gold rushes and the Civil War currency changes, to £60 in 1860 and £75 in 1868.[5] In 1855, the total cost, to Mormons travelling in large companies, was £15 or £16 a head. In that year, the decision was taken to abandon the all-water route via New Orleans in favour of one further north via the Atlantic ports, and from 1859 this was invariably an all-rail route from New York to the frontier; the cost was £3, though greater speed cut down the amount of food needed. From 1868, Mormon immigrants crossed the Atlantic by steam instead of sail, and this at once added £2 to the cost. Lastly, in the late sixties the railway advanced beyond the Missouri, so that Mormons were able to

[1] J. C. Alter, *Early Utah Journalism* (Salt Lake City, 1938), pp. 280–300.

[2] Burton, *op.cit.* p. 286; Tullidge, *op.cit.* pp. 382–3; W. Chandless, *A Visit to Salt Lake* ... (1857), pp. 214–23; H. H. Bancroft, *History of Utah* (San Francisco, 1890), pp. 290–2, 578, 763–4.

[3] St. George Stake History, 30 October 1869.

[4] Cache Valley Ward Tithing Ledger, 1860–86 (unpublished, Cache Stakehouse Vault, Logan, Utah); Church Auditor's Report in William Clayton Letterpress Copybook (unpublished, Utah State Historical Society), p. 161.

[5] Figures on costs can be found at least annually in the instructions to emigrants printed in *Millennial Star.*

travel to Ogden in 1869 and Salt Lake City the following year. The elaborate and costly outfitting at the frontier was now unnecessary, and, despite the other factors mentioned, the total cost in 1870 was still £16. The Mormons typically migrated in families, and even for a man, wife, and three children —and many of the families were far larger—the total cost would have to be multiplied by 3½ or 4.[1]

Such costs were a formidable burden on those members of the working and lower middle classes to whom Mormonism made its successful appeal. In the first fifteen years of the migration, nearly 20,000 people paid for their own passage, or were helped by their friends, though the earliest of these went only as far as Nauvoo, Illinois.[2] In other words, with migration a religious duty, all converts who had the means crossed the Atlantic. By 1855, membership in the British Mission was already falling off from the 1851 peak of nearly 33,000 as conversions failed to keep pace with emigration, desertion, excommunication and death. An increasing proportion, therefore, of the members left in the Mission were poor. Reports from the Conferences, into which the Mission was divided, speak of members as domestic servants, as seamen's wives or widows, as weavers, shoemakers, miners, farm-workers, or as unemployed.[3] In the Norwich Conference in 1858, only half-a-dozen earned more than £1 a week. Three years later, from the South District (three Conferences comprising Wiltshire, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall), came the report that 'hundreds will never be able to emigrate by their own means, for their circumstances are such that they can barely exist, to say nothing of living .... Their clothes are in pawn, their house-rent unpaid, and their provision-shop accounts increasing'.[4] In Lancashire, the American Civil War produced such a depression that 'many of the Saints have had to use what they had saved to emigrate with, to keep them alive'.[5] In 1870, an advance of £2 in the fare to Utah 'has quite a crippling effect on large families' in the Kent Conference.[6]

In overcoming the obstacle of members' poverty, two methods which were influential in the nineteenth century were closed to the Mormons. Several hundred thousand people in the 1840's and 1850's were assisted to emigrate to Australia, from a government fund derived from the sale of colonial lands. But in Utah there were no such land sales. Had Utah been within the organised public domain, the revenues would have accrued to the Federal Government. But being so far beyond the main American frontier, Utah remained for years outside the scope of official survey. Hence the Mormons were free to make their own property arrangements, though whether these would retain the force of law when survey overtook them remained for many years in doubt. The Church

[1] The reduction for children varied from year to year; infants travelled free. Usually, 100 pounds of baggage were allowed free to each emigrant.

[2] Examples of financial aid from individuals in Britain or visiting members from Utah are in *Millennial Star*, XXVIII (26 May 1866), 797; XXX (7 March 1868), 158; in A. Jenson, *Latter-day Saints' Biographical Encyclopedia* (4 vols. Salt Lake City, 1901–36), I, 415, II, 186–7, 651–3; and in *Autobiography of Christopher Layton*, ed. J. Q. Cannon (Salt Lake City, 1911), p. 107. Figures for total emigration are in yearly or half-yearly statistical reports in *Millennial Star*.

[3] *Millennial Star*, XXII (24 March 1860), 186, which also mentions the effects of strikes and lock-outs; XXIII (11 May 1861), 302; XXVIII (29 September 1866), 622.

[4] *Ibid.* XX (30 October 1858), 703; XXIII (2 March 1861), 141.

[5] *Ibid.* XXIV (15 March 1862), 174.

[6] *Ibid.* XXXII (2 August 1870), 492. An individual example of the effects of poverty may be given. James Nibley, a Scottish miner with a very large family, saved for eleven years before emigrating as a Mormon. Even then, he had to work for several years more in Rhode Island before being able to complete his journey to Utah. Jenson, *op.cit.* III, 766–9; we owe this reference to Elder Preston W. Nibley of Salt Lake City, a descendant.

began by apportioning small and equal blocks of land around Salt Lake City to each family. This served as a model for the whole of Utah, and sales occurred only when the original settlers disposed of land to newcomers, when no revenue accrued to the Church.[1] A second, though this time an individual and not a government method, was the migration of one member of a family, who would earn and save in the United States until he could send back cash or prepaid tickets to those left behind. This the Mormons rejected because of their desire to preserve family solidarity and continuing Church membership. In their publications they made their objections very clear. In practice, their migration shows every evidence that these principles were maintained, for there is a very remarkable balance between the sexes, and distribution among age groups is found to be very much that of a normal community, not only in a total of thousands of migrants, but in most single shiploads.[2]

It was in the face of these difficulties that the Mormons launched a series of experiments in financial assistance to the migration of European converts. The first plan to produce any measure of success was that of the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company, set up at a Special Conference in September 1849. Its principle was to solicit donations from Church members in Britain and Utah; to use the resulting funds in part for assisted Atlantic passages and in part for buying cattle and waggons at the frontier; to employ these latter with the immigrant companies, to sell them on arrival in Utah, and to re-invest the proceeds in more cattle and waggons for the next year's use. This was to continue until all the foreign Saints had been 'gathered'. Those to be assisted were men with special skills judged by the authorities to be useful in Utah; people designated by friends or relatives in Utah who made donations; and, in general, 'the worthy poor' in the various Conferences. All these people signed an agreement promising to repay the money granted, by labour or otherwise, after their arrival in Utah.[3] Under this plan, more than 4,500 Mormons sailed during the years 1852–5, a quarter of them nominated from Utah, while about 1,000 received small grants to supplement their own resources. But after 1856 the Fund ceased to operate in the manner described. A handful of people were still described as 'P.E.F. emigrants', but in the main the Company became simply an organizing body, while the financial techniques were

[1] The fullest account is in F. Y. Fox, 'The Mormon Land System: A Study of the Settlement and Utilization of Land under the Direction of the Mormon Church' (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1932).

[2] *Millennial Star*, XXIV (8 March 1862), 149–50, is typical; XXIX (21 December 1867), 810, is an exception, for the year was one in which the Church found itself unable to offer financial aid; X (15 September 1848), 284, insists that no man shall go to Utah alone, but permits him to go to the eastern United States if the President of his Conference satisfies himself that his wife consents. Among the 19,017 persons in the *Passenger Lists* consulted, the sexes are balanced to a remarkable degree: in the age-group 15–40 are 5,005 males and 5,014 females. Only on board two ships, the *Underwriter* in 1861 and the *Constitution* in 1868, is there a substantial excess of females. The family character of the migration is shown further by the presence of 30·93% of children, and of 15·82% of people over 40. The effect on Utah was striking. In 1850, after barely three years of settlement, Utah had 46·87% females, and 43·22% children. In the same year, California had 7·58% females and 6.46% children, and even Oregon had only 37·88% females and 40·54% children. The Utah figure resembled that of the much older communities of Texas or Missouri.

[3] Morgan, *op.cit.* pp. 102–3, 187–90 (documents on organization); *Millennial Star*, XII (15 April 1850), 120–1, states general principles; XIV (15 February 1852), 58, states selection policy; XVIII (12 January 1856), 26, prints a repayment agreement. See also G. O. Larson, 'Story of the Perpetual Emigration Fund', *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XVIII (1931), 184–94. The Fund was aided by legislative grants of the proceeds from certain types of unclaimed property, and from a 10% levy on ferry-tolls; see Morgan, *op.cit.* pp. 76–7, 226–7, and *Utah Acts, Resolutions and Memorials*, pp. 167, 237–8, 247–8, 266–7.

changed. The scheme had failed for three reasons to measure up to early hopes. The Saints were too poor, at any rate in cash, to make satisfactory donations. There was no market, producing cash, for teams in Utah. Even those who made an effort at repayment could contribute only labour, which again produced no cash for external use.

The Church tried to reduce costs. It was always recognized that an interrupted journey might lead to apostasy among converts exposed to the temptations of the eastern United States. But increasingly it was found necessary to permit such emigration by stages, when the converts and their families had means enough to reach the Atlantic seaboard, or perhaps St. Louis, but not Utah. Typically, the Church then hastened to set up its organization in such places, so that immigrants should have every help in remaining faithful. In other words, in times of financial stringency, 'States Emigration', as it was called, received a reluctant blessing. In better times, it was condemned. In 1855, probably nearly 2,000 of the immigrants remained in the eastern United States; in 1856 a similar number; in 1859–60 about 1,400. These were the peak years. Then, in the sixties, the pattern changed again. Any cessation of Church aid now resulted in a sharp reduction of immigration as a whole, rather than in an increase in 'States Emigration'. The converts were too poor to leave their homes unless fully subsidized.[1]

At the same time, an attempt was made to reduce the cost of the westernmost section of the journey to Utah. In the Sixth General Epistle, published in Britain early in 1852, Brigham Young pointed out that many of the Forty-niners had crossed the West without waggons, and suggested that Mormons, inspired by higher motives, could do the same. This was the origin of the Handcart plan.[2] What Young omitted to add was that the Forty-niners had been very commonly small groups of able-bodied men, whereas Mormon companies were large groups of people of both sexes and all ages. Although some preparations were made in that year, it was not until 1856 that the first handcart companies set out. The plan was for the converts to go as far as Iowa City by rail or river, take over the handcarts that had been contracted for, advance to the Missouri, and there take on their full load for the Plains. It was assumed that, with only a few waggons to carry the heavier stores, an early start would be possible, without the usual delay incurred in waiting for the growth of grass, after the winter, sufficient for large numbers of oxen. It was assumed too that a good speed would be made. But plans were made for help to be sent eastward along the trail from Utah. The whole scheme, essentially one for reducing costs, was launched amid enthusiastic propaganda. One writer asserted:

> The Saints have a right to expect that but few if any will be disabled from travelling through sickness after starting, for the Lord has promised, through His Prophet Brigham, that 'there will be none sick in a little time after they get started, but will continue to get stronger and stronger' ... The Lord, through His Prophet, says to the poor, 'let them come on foot, with handcarts or wheelbarrows, let them gird up their loins and walk through, and nothing shall hinder them'.[3]

[1] Favourable references to States Emigration are in *Millennial Star*, X (1 February 1848), 41–2; XII (1 July 1850), 196; XVII (13 January 1855), 27; XXI (10 December 1859), 797, which, however, urges people with good jobs in Britain to stay at home until they have saved the whole fare to Utah.

[2] *Ibid.* XIV (15 January 1852), 23–4; and for technical arguments, XVII (22 December 1855), 810–11.

[3] *Ibid.* XVIII (23 February 1856), 124–5.

Another proclaimed: 'The Lord can rain manna on the plains of America just as easily as He did on the deserts of Arabia'.[1] In 1856, three companies got through to Utah without serious loss, though with hardships distinctly greater than the Church leaders had suggested. The fourth and fifth, as is well known, suffered exceptionally heavy casualties.[2] Yet after this disaster, the experiment was tried again, though on a smaller scale. In 1857, 1859, and 1860, the companies met with no mishap. Altogether, about 3,500 people used the handcart method.

'Experiment', indeed, is a word that has to be used often in describing Mormon immigration practice. Sometimes, local difficulties were overcome by improvisation, as when collections on board ship provided for the westward journey of the poorest passengers.[3] Economies were found possible, in the form of long-term contracts at the frontier for cattle, supplies, and ferry-tolls, and of bulk contracts year by year for travel on the railways.[4] In 1857, there was instituted in the British Mission a savings scheme, known first as the Penny Fund and later as the Individual Emigrating Account. A large organization was built up, with regular bookkeeping and twice-yearly audits, while *Millennial Star* contained a large volume of propaganda.[5] Yet with all these varied methods, the basic difficulty persisted, and in 1860 Brigham Young exclaimed bitterly: 'At times it seems as though all hell and earth are combined to keep money out of my hands'.[6]

It was in that very year that a plan was inaugurated which for the first time enabled the resources of Utah to be applied on a large scale to assist immigration. This was the 'Church Team' system. As early as 1848, relief expeditions had gone east from Utah to aid the companies, and this had been especially true in 1856. But these were expeditions over relatively short distances. In 1859, a freight train with mule teams for the first time went from Utah to the Missouri and back in one season. The Church authorities at once saw the implications of this success. Teams with supplies could now be sent to the frontier, immigrants could be brought back the same summer, and instead of painfully searching for cash, the Mormons could mobilize resources in kind through the Tithing system. In 1860, Brigham Young explained:

> It now costs in cash nearly as much for their teams, waggons, handcarts, cooking utensils, provisions, &c., for their journey across the Plains, as it does to transport them to the frontiers.[7]

Under the new arrangement, Utah's abundant cattle and, in some years, abundant flour, could be put to work. In 1861, 200 waggons were sent; in 1862, 262; in 1863, 384; in 1864, 170; in 1866, 397; in 1868, 543; while in

[1] *Ibid.* XVIII (1 March 1856), 138.

[2] 'Brief Record of the First Handcart Company', *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine*, XVII (1926), 247–9; XVIII (1927), 17–21, 49–56. See also 'Journal of Archer Walters', *Improvement Era* (Salt Lake City), XXXIX (1936), 612, 635–6, 764; XL (1937), 43, 112, 154–5, 253; *Millennial Star*, XVIII (2 August 1856), 489; XVIII (20 December 1856), 812; 'John Chislett's Narrative', in T. B. H. Stenhouse, *The Rocky Mountain Saints* (New York, 1873), pp. 312–38. The hardships experienced by even the most successful handcart companies of later years may be seen in Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (unpublished, Church Historian's Library), 13 September 1857, 4 September 1859.

[3] *Millennial Star*, XVII (3 March 1855), 142; XXVI (23 July 1864), 477–8.

[4] *Ibid.* XV (30 April 1853), 282; XVIII (24 May 1856), 261; XXV (27 June 1863), 413. There are many other examples.

[5] *Ibid.* XIX (31 January 1857), 69; XX (9 January 1858), 26–7; XXI (25 June 1859), 416–8; XXIV (20 September 1862), 604; XXIV (29 November 1862), 762–3; XXV (24 January 1863), 49–51.

[6] *Journal of Discourses*, VIII, 201.

[7] *Ibid.* VIII, 192.

1865 and 1867 no teams were sent. In addition to provisions for teamsters and guards, the waggons carried flour, 70 or even 100 tons in a year. Some of this was cached on the trail, under guard, for use on the return journey. Some was taken all the way and used as rations for the immigrants at the very start of their westward crossing. Some was bartered at the frontier for provisions, or was used to pay ferry-tolls.[1] Including 1868, when the teams needed to go no further than the western border of Nebraska (because of the advance of the railway), some 16,000 immigrants used the Church Teams, in the ratio of about two British to one Scandinavian. From time to time, some teams were also used to bring machinery and supplies to Utah.

Because of its success, the system merits careful description. All contributions from Mormons in Utah were credited to their tithing, according to a scale publicly announced; but they had to make new contributions, for the Bishops were forbidden to use goods already deposited in the tithing houses.[2] Once the total scale of the year's Teams had been decided by the First Presidency, the Presiding Bishop handed down to the Stakes (the largest unit of the Church in Utah) the quotas demanded of them. Thus, in 1863, St. George Stake was asked for 55 teams, each with teamster; four mounted and armed guards; stores for these men for the round trip; and 1,000 pounds of flour in each waggon. A rendezvous was fixed and a captain appointed.[3] The High Councils of the Stakes then fixed the quota for each Ward. In 1864, in St. George Stake, St. George Ward sent eight teams, Washington and Grafton five each, Toquerville four, Clover Valley and Harmony two each, Berry Valley and Santa Clara one each.[4] Last came the demands on individuals. At Springville in 1868 a meeting was held at the Bishop's house—it is not stated who attended—and a contribution was assigned to every Church member. Then the Teachers (who served as liaison between the Bishop and the members in each block) were sent from house to house; and reported back whether householders would 'respond to the call'. Some pleaded poverty, some offered alternatives to what had been assigned them, but gradually the quota was built up, by negotiation backed by the pressure of authority. For teamsters' outfits, three merchants were assessed $100, $50, and $25 worth of goods, 'and most vigorous protests are entered by these merchants against the large assessments'.[5] At Harmony, in 1863, the business was all transacted at a general meeting. Members offered their contributions to make up the quota. Some contributed a waggon, cattle, or service as teamster; some only a keg, a gun, or a whip; while 'Sister Susan Hill made a mat and pillow, a night cap, furnished a plate, spoon, cup, needles and thread, and presented them to George Woolsey as part of his outfit'. At a second meeting, the men going with the teams 'were sustained by vote to make this trip, and were formally blessed and set apart for this mission'.[6]

[1] The figures and many other details are in A. Jenson, *Church Chronology* (2nd. ed. Salt Lake City, 1899), pp. 65–78; B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: Century I* (6 vols. Salt Lake City, 1930), V, 109–10; 1866 and 1868 Emigration Team Accounts (unpublished, Church Historian's Library); A. Jenson, 'Latter-day Saints' Emigration from Wyoming, Nebraska, 1864–1866', *Nebraska History Magazine*, XVII (1936), 113–27. Cache Stake History (unpublished, Church Historian's Library), 20 April 1863, has examples of official inspection of teams. Journal History, 23 September 1861, 23 September 1862, 12 September 1863, has examples of storage of flour on the trail.

[2] St. George Stake History, 3 March 1864.

[3] *Ibid.* 15 March 1863.

[4] *Ibid.* 31 December 1864. See also *ibid.* 30 May 1868; Salt Lake Stake History, 22 April 1861; Cache Stake History, 25 April 1866.

[5] D. C. Johnson, *History of Springville* (Springville, Utah, 1900), p. 78.

[6] 'Minutes of Harmony Ward', in W. R. Palmer, 'The Pioneering Mormon', *Improvement Era*, XLV (1942), 540.

IV

By 1870, the worst of Utah's economic difficulties seemed to be over. Yet the economic situation was very different from what had been planned during the previous twenty years. The Territory was, indeed, producing an agricultural surplus for short-distance export. Settlements had spread from the original central valleys throughout the habitable areas of Utah and into Idaho, Nevada, and Arizona. In the sixties, the settlements had been more firmly integrated than ever before by the Deseret Telegraph, constructed under Church direction by methods very like those employed in building up the Church Teams.[1] The immigrants who had arrived from Europe had spread from Salt Lake City to all parts, often as a result of being met by friends or relatives, but sometimes by direction of the Bishops.[2] Yet the Ninth Census showed that industry was still on a very small scale; that, whatever their previous occupations, most settlers were farmers; and that Utah was overwhelmingly an area of small farms, irrigated by using water which collected in the canyon streams after the mountain snow had melted.[3]

In 1870, it might be thought that in another sense economic difficulties had been solved, for Salt Lake City was joined to the main line of the Union Pacific completed in the previous year. The Church Teams could be replaced by a simple all-steam route from Liverpool, via New York and Chicago, to Utah, and the technical problems of 'gathering' were largely at an end. Yet such was the predominance of social and religious considerations over economic in the Church's thinking, that the end of Utah's isolation was viewed as a threat rather than a benefit, and the relative prosperity of Utah made this view all the easier to hold.[4]

The ending of isolation was viewed as little less than a revolution. Even with the railway, Utah's farm surplus would never be able to compete in the eastern United States with the produce of the prairies, for Utah's was a high-cost agriculture. But the States of the Middle West, with virgin soil, smooth terrain, and ample rainfall, might be capable of producing cheaply enough to offset the high freight-rates and compete in Utah's home market. The rapidly growing large-scale industry of the North-East might be able to flood Utah with manufactures. Either development meant a threat to the full employment of the population of mixed skills which had been assembled in Utah for the Mormons' special purposes. Further, the coming of the railway would probably lead to a boom in mining. Hence, Utah might be flooded with Gentile capital and Gentile workers, and the sober Mormon way of life, directed by the Church, would be replaced by the turbulence and vice of a gold rush.

[1] Communications were so much improved that in the last years of his life Brigham Young was able to make St. George, in the extreme southwest of Utah, a regular winter capital.

[2] *Deseret News*, 6 July 1854; *Millennial Star*, XVII (27 January 1855), 61; XXVI (20 February 1864), 122; XXXI (18 September 1869), 613; W. H. Dixon, *New America* (2 vols. 1867), I, 252–3; Hunter, *op.cit.* pp. 229–30. Friends and relatives were sometimes aided by the publication of the nominal roll of a company approaching Salt Lake City; for example, *Deseret News*, 12 September 1855, 15 October 1856, 24 September 1862, 26 August 1864.

[3] The average farm had only 30 acres in 1870. See C. H. Brough, *Irrigation in Utah* (Baltimore, 1898) and, for the communal effort involved in irrigation, B. DeVoto, 'Jonathan Dyer, Frontiersman', *Harper's Magazine* (1933), pp. 491–501. Early laws granting timber and water rights always recognized the overriding claims of irrigation—Morgan, *op.cit.* p. 200. A summary of occupations in 1870 is in *Ninth Census of the U.S.* I, 759; contradictions between these and other figures in the Census are too small to affect the generalization.

[4] What follows is based on L. J. Arrington, 'The Transcontinental Railroad and Mormon Economic Policy', *Pacific Historical Review*, XX (1951), 143–57.

The Church authorities could see the trend of events as early as 1867. In that year, there began to meet at Salt Lake City a standing conference, under the name of 'The School of the Prophets', while branches were set up in the smaller cities. From the discussions which took place there, a new policy emerged, six aspects of which should be mentioned. First, Mormons undertook to work on the construction of the Union Pacific, and were even, for the first time, encouraged to work in mines: the first earned ready money, and both were expected to reduce the demand for Gentile labour in the Territory. Second, the Church organized the construction of branch railways within Utah, again to exclude Gentile enterprise. Partly for the same reason, companies were set up to manufacture furniture, agricultural equipment, soap, leather products, silks, and woollens; and in these, wage policies were worked out with the avowed intention of enabling the new organizations' products to compete successfully with imports. From the same ferment of planning came projects for a revival of the United Order, the communitarian system of the early years of the Church, in the shape of settlements for particular forms of agricultural and industrial production. Fifth, there was set up a large Church-controlled wholesale institution in Salt Lake City, and cooperative retail establishments in each locality, which would channel all imports into Mormon hands, while Gentile merchants were to be boycotted. Last, in order that imports of consumer goods might not be so large as to cut into the community's fund for capital improvement, all Church members were asked to refrain from tea, coffee, liquor, and tobacco, and to wear simple clothing of local make.[1]

Space is lacking for any detailed account of the development of these defensive plans. In their original form, they had only a short-lived success. But most observers would agree that, in the face of inevitable economic contact with the United States as a whole, the Mormons succeeded in preserving much of the Church's control and much of their characteristic way of life. They achieved this by methods which constitute one further example of that interplay of religious and economic aims which is found throughout Utah's early history. It is that interplay which forms the unique interest of a study of the Mormon experiments, by which, in barren country and in extreme isolation, they worked out a vast colonizing enterprise and, from meagre resources, financed a great migration.

Department of Extra-mural Studies, University of Birmingham.
Utah State University af Agriculture and Applied Sciences.

[1] Mormons had been advised, as early as 1833, that strong drink, tobacco, and such hot drinks as tea and coffee, were not good for man. In 1867, economic rather than moral grounds for abstinence were being stressed. Only late in the nineteenth century did such abstinence become a test of faith, and the 'Word of Wisdom', as the principle is called, is now a distinguishing feature of the Mormon Church.